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distant when we shall have branch societies in every civilized country in the world — when a student may go to what university he will, and yet find sympathetic friends, men filled with similar high ideals of the brotherhood of man.

The work of the Association has grown so phenomenally during its brief existence, that the annual publication thus far issued — the *Cosmopolitan Annual* — has proved inadequate as an organ of propaganda. Plans are now on foot for a monthly publication, the first number of which, if satisfactory arrangements can be concluded, is to appear about in March.

The work of propaganda and correspondence has also grown so tremendously as to necessitate the creation of a permanent general secretary, provided the funds for his maintenance can be supplied.

As an indication of the active interest which the A. C. C. takes in the peace movement, the following facts may be cited: the annual reports of the national officers show that delegations were sent to both the Chicago Peace Congress and to the last Lake Mohonk Conference, and that at both events addresses were made by the officers; that Peace Day was observed at the majority of universities which have a cosmopolitan club or an international club, and that the day is to be universally observed by the chapters hereafter. The convention also endorsed Miss Eckstein's "World Petition," thereby adding two thousand signatures to her roll.

Two other facts in connection with the work of the convention deserve especial mention. In the first place, the convention submitted to the Association of University Presidents, meeting at Madison, Wis., during the Christmas recess, a resolution asking for the appointment of a special faculty adviser for foreigners. This plan has been successfully tried at Illinois, where the Cosmopolitan Club of that university was instrumental in securing the appointment of Prof. A. R. Seymour, himself one of the most energetic men in the movement, to that position. It has been found that the foreigner coming to our universities is confronted by special problems which the ordinary freshman never must face. A sympathetic faculty adviser, who especially studies the needs of the foreigner, will, the Association believes, do a world of good in impressing the foreigner favorably from the very beginning. The Association fully realizes that the future status of our international relations depends much upon the impressions which the picked young men from foreign countries who study in our higher institutions of learning will carry home with them. It was in this spirit that the resolution was adopted.

Another resolution was that urging the librarians of the various university libraries to compile a collection of books in the English language which give a reliable insight into the view-point of foreign countries. This list of books is to be compiled by the members of the Association, the representatives of each nationality suggesting books concerning their fatherland. It is believed by the members of our Association that international misunderstandings in large part rest upon mutual ignorance. A dissemination of correct knowledge concerning foreign countries will, the Association believes, further the cause of international amity.

In conclusion, it may be of interest to know that the

next convention will be held at Urbana, Ill., with the Illinois Cosmopolitan Club as the executive chapter for the year 1909-10. The secretary has been chosen from Wisconsin university, and vice-presidents will be selected from Pennsylvania, Michigan and Leland Stanford.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

## The Humiliations of Civilization.

*From the "Editor's Study" in the Christmas Number of Harper's Magazine.*

Civilization involves many humiliations. It used to be that when a traveler came in sight of a gaol or of a gallows he knew by these unmistakable signs that he was approaching the demesne of law and order. The sight of a church spire or of a schoolhouse would not have been equally convincing. It cannot be without some sense of shame for human weakness that we owe our feeling of security to signals in themselves so distressing; nor without some sense of cowardice that our perspective of values places material security and physical safety above the peace and the hopes which the church spire and the schoolhouse ought to betoken. We are more and more inclined therefore to hide our shameful defenses and make a full display of the things that signify our noblest aspirations.

But while we conceal our prisons and the gruesome instruments for the infliction of our punishments, we still unblushingly and even with pride make a parade of our police force. These guardians of our peace and security give assurance of comfort without discomforting suggestions, and, as they positively stand for the majesty of the law, we delight in their imposing stature and gay uniforms, untroubled by the direct associations with crimes, criminals and penalties inevitably prompted by the sight of a gaol or of the electric chair. The machine does its dire work surely and irresistibly; but these are men who in their performance of duty always take their lives in their hands, as our firemen do, and, as in the case of the firemen, our regard is fixed upon the heroic aspects of their sad business which invite decoration.

The guise of our pride, in like manner, masks our humiliation in the case of the soldier, who also, being a victim, must be decorated. The very mention of our army and navy seems to lift us above our minor social weaknesses, as betrayed in criminal statistics, to the high ground of our collective sacred honor. There is no greater popular idol than the military or the naval hero, and his comrades, down to the humblest private, share his glory; dying in war, they become immortal, and, surviving, the spoiled pets of their countrymen. Here, too, the very machinery of destruction is exalted. We hide the gallows, but, even in times of peace and in the celebrations of peaceful triumphs, we can find no fonder object of display than our warships. Our chief pride in an aeroplane is for its possible use in international warfare.

Yet the very fact that war is any longer possible between Christian nations is a deeper disgrace to Christendom than the whole sum of petty malefactions within its limits. The plea for the necessity of war involves humiliation, but of the same kind that we feel because the penitentiary is necessary. The burden of our shame is not so much that we sanction war mainly for ends

which only injuriously concern the welfare of the commonwealths committed to such barbarism and taxed for its maintenance in an enlightened age as that we take pride in the anachronism and invest it with the glamour of romance. Wars incidental to the conflict between powerful Christian nations and the recalcitrant barbarians whose lands are coveted for exploitation are waged in the name of civilization—the sordidness of the motive being disguised under the plausible plea that the victims of conquest, if they are not extirpated, ultimately share its beneficent sequel. The argument, that if war is an outrage, barbarism is a greater one, would seem more plausible but for the ensuing strife between Christian powers themselves for the possession of the tempting prize—the empire of each held only as a championship against the rest.

The pessimistic view of human nature derives its apparent justification chiefly from human history, which shows that the progress of the race has been so evidently due to what is necessary and inevitable because of human weaknesses and to the tyrannies which human pride and ambition have built upon this necessity and these weaknesses. It is humiliating to reflect that civilization—the kind we have had and been proudest of—has been promoted by war to a greater extent than by any other factor, its amenities generated by strife, and the hopeful note of revolt in its renaissances a protest against some kind of despotism. Seen thus historically, human experience seems to be grounded in fallibility, its course wholly empirical, every hope or assurance the sequel of failure, and nothing humanly good, even in semblance, that is not by reaction wrested from something humanly evil.

Is this, then, the sum of human experience—a cycle of errors, from which there is no possible escape? Must we go on forever confounding our glory with our shame?

If we look back upon past triumphs, the obvious motives of the reactions leading to these hopeful issues do not give us an exalted view of human nature. The greatest of revolutions would seem to have had their origin in oppressive imposts. To take a later instance—that of so sublime an issue as the emancipation of slaves in this country: so long as it was urged on purely ethical grounds its advocates were despitefully treated in our principal Northern cities; but when it was presented in our Western Territories as a material and economic issue between free and slave labor, that seemed a grave enough concern to precipitate an armed conflict. It is true that this conflict might not have become a civil war between the States but for the firing on the national flag in South Carolina; but that is simply saying that the passion of patriotism transcended the possibilities of an ideal ethical enthusiasm. It is a passion that has been responsible for many national besotments.

So, if democracy should be realized to the extent of giving the peoples of Christendom supreme arbitrament of their destinies, it would not seem to us an illustration of their redeemed human nature if they followed the path opened by the ever-growing Social Democracy of Germany and became simply opportunists in all matters affecting the merely material interests of the proletariat, and were thus to unite in the abolition of war solely because it is a source of burdensome taxation and involves the sacrifice of physical life. Sublime as that

issue would seem on higher grounds, yet, put upon so low a ground, it might seem an evasion of responsibility and a confession of cowardice. Following the lines of so mean a suggestion, it might connote degraded standards in every department of human activity and lead to a new despotism resting upon an authority below mediocrity. Instead of an exalted we might have a debased humanity. Out of this desert, called Peace, we might well yearn for the old fleshpots of servile loyalties and mock-heroisms.

But this pessimistic interpretation of past and hoped-for achievements is based upon a superficial view of history and of the possibilities of human nature which have been and are being realized in the evolution of human experience. This experience is not wholly empirical; its genesis and growth are from the creative human spirit. There are invisible currents of collective will and sensibility, not circumscribed by racial limits, but constituting a world-sense, however this sense may be differentiated by the peculiar genius of each race, or still more minutely by individual peculiarities. Here we have to do with operations which take no account of merely material interests or of prudential motives and which cannot be outwardly classified or labeled. These may be reflected in the most exalted forms of outward organization, though not adequately represented by any—may be in part expressed and in part belied by the great revolutions we celebrate; but they make up a movement which in purpose transcends the special ends of parties, sects and forms of government, a movement which is no more open to observation and is as irresistible as the coming of the kingdom of God—its identical expression.

Now, as an illustration of the efficacy of this movement, let us ask ourselves if, had there been no fratricidal war in this country half a century ago, human slavery could have maintained its existence on this continent to the present moment. There can be but one answer to the question. The problem would have resolved itself inevitably in the very States where slavery existed, even if there had been no economical aspect involved or any other practical consideration, and no overwhelming pressure from the world outside. The fact that the abolition of such a system came through such a war confers no glory upon the issue. There is a spiritual economy—the kind of householding implied in the kingdom of God—very different from what we call political economy.

So with regard to other issues. The same Jefferson who afterward frankly recorded his judgment of slavery wrote the Declaration of Independence; but if it had been impossible for him to put on paper any one of his twenty-seven counts of justification, if there had been no Declaration, no Revolution, no separation from the mother country,—however inevitable all these were in the actual course of events,—does any one imagine that democracy, in its essence and as reflecting the righteousness inevitably expressed in the movement of the human spirit, would fail of the triumphant issue which is yet to be realized, quite beyond the definitions of it by Cromwell or Jefferson? The occasions of outward stress and tumult are weather signs of storm, points of its precipitation, but fail to measure or justly register the serene current which still moves on to greater, completer and more significant issues.

The protest against war may be uttered by oppressed

peoples because of its oppressiveness, but the movement which alone can terminate it with any spiritual significance is one which supplants hatred with love, giving the world a fertile, not a sterile, peace. Our only assurance of such an issue rests upon the creative powers of the spirit, building up a new human experience, the most significant triumph of which is the realization, not of what any class of men desires for itself alone, but of human brotherhood. General enlightenment there must be for this realization—not the enlightenment of the mind alone as to the fashioning of an efficient civilization for material ends, but of the heart for the issues of creative and abundant life, whose ideals cannot be expressed in terms of attainment or efficiency, but only in the fruits of the spirit.

The fact that experience gets its name from our conception of trial in the sense of experimentation, involving arbitrary selection, in the conscious adaptation of means to ends, and in accommodation to our environment through the recognition of external relations, leads naturally to an accentuation of the pragmatic values of life and thus to a narrow view of man's destiny, as if it were comprised within that cycle of his many errors and partial triumphs which we call human progress. But why should we ignore those deeper elements of experience due to the creative selection whereby the human is allied to the divine? It is these elements that eternize the earthly life. Science, in its quest of truth, satisfies a disinterested curiosity and pursues its high vocation through the tumult of a city's siege and sacking. Art realizes the beautiful with no reference to utilities. The deeper genius in us creatively yields goodness in the graces inseparable from sympathy and definable only by reference to their source in loving hearts.

If we were asked what the religion of the future is to be, we should say that it would be a surely saving faith in the power of love to realize in experience a divine-human fellowship, which must needs be really human before it can be aware of its divine source and quality.

This is good gospel, whatever it may be in the terms of theology; and that theology may be so transformed as to express the spirit of the gospel is shown in "The Atoning Life," a recent book by Dr. Henry Sylvester Nash, Episcopal Professor of Theology at Harvard, who, dealing with human experience on the creative side, and therefore using terms familiar to Christians from the beginning, and born of that living experience, rather than those of abstruse philosophy, has portrayed the luminous outlines of a really redeemed humanity, purged of its vanities and its fears.

## Notes of the Work of the American School Peace League.

BY FANNIE FERN ANDREWS, SECRETARY.

The first annual report of the League, which is now ready for distribution, includes not only an account of the League's activities during its first year of work, but also the addresses delivered at the public meeting in Denver last July. Announcement is also made of the judges in the Peace Pin Contest, the conditions of which were printed in last month's *ADVOCATE*. The judges are: Arthur W. Dow, Teachers' College, Columbia University,

New York City; Leslie W. Miller, Principal Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, Philadelphia, Pa.; Herman A. MacNeil, sculptor, Northern Boulevard, College Point, New York City; Douglas G. Field, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Miss Frances Lee, Teacher in Miss Winsor's School, Boston, and Milton Academy, Milton, Mass. If the interest in this contest results in as keen a response as that shown in the Peace Essay Contest, a knowledge of the purpose of the League will be spread far and wide throughout the country.

State Branches are being organized during the meetings of the State Teachers' Associations, two having been formed in November. On November 26, at Richmond, Virginia, the organization of the State Branch took place as a part of the program of the Virginia State Teachers' Association, with the following officers: President, J. H. Binford, President State Teachers' Association, Richmond; secretary, J. Paul Spence, Supervisor of Instruction, Norfolk; treasurer, Miss M. E. Coffedge, Richmond; vice-presidents, J. D. Eggleston, Jr., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Richmond; J. A. Moorehead, President Roanoke College, Salem; R. C. Stearnes, Secretary State Board of Education, Richmond; J. J. Lincoln, Principal Wakefield High School, Wakefield; Miss S. W. Coleman, Ashland; directors, J. A. C. Chandler, Superintendent of Schools, Richmond; Miss Matty Cocke, President Hollins Institute, Hollins; J. W. Wayland, President Harrisonburg Normal School, Harrisonburg; J. H. Saunders, Principal Omohundro Avenue School, Norfolk; Mrs. L. R. Dashiell, educator, Richmond; E. A. Alderman, President University of Virginia, Charlottesville; Mrs. B. B. Munford, educator, Richmond; R. E. Blackwell, President Randolph-Macon College, Ashland; Joseph L. Jarman, President State Normal School, Farmville.

On the same day the Massachusetts Branch was formed at Worcester, at the time of the Massachusetts State Teachers' Association, and these officers were elected: President, George H. Blakeslee, Professor of History, Clark University, Worcester; secretary, Charles A. Breck, Superintendent of Schools, Methuen; treasurer, Mrs. Emma S. Gulliver, Master Dillaway School, Roxbury; vice-presidents, David Snedden, Massachusetts Commissioner of Education, Boston; Wilbur F. Gordy, Superintendent of Schools, Springfield; William A. Baldwin, Principal Normal School, Hyannis; Miss Mabel Hill, Teacher of History, Normal School, Lowell; J. Asbury Pitman, Principal Normal School, Salem; directors, Homer P. Lewis, Superintendent of Schools, Worcester; B. C. Gregory, Superintendent of Schools, Chelsea; Henry D. Hervey, Superintendent of Schools, Malden; Stratton D. Brooks, Superintendent of Schools, Boston; F. E. Spaulding, Superintendent of Schools, Newton; Allen P. Keith, Superintendent of Schools, New Bedford; Asher J. Jacoby, Superintendent of Schools, Milton; Carlos B. Ellis, Teacher in High School, Springfield; Albert Perry Walker, Master Girls' High School, Boston.

The Massachusetts State Teachers' Association passed the following resolution, directly in line with the resolution passed by the National Education Association in Denver last summer:

"*Resolved*, That in the great movement for international arbitration, international conciliation, international peace and goodwill, we recognize the projection on a grand scale of those